

34 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

251 another at right angles to the first until a structure is  
343 raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored.  
The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary,  
plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled  
corn.

343 Perhaps every fourth dwelling has a sweathouse (S.  
*temazcal*; N. *temazcalli*), well known as a part of the  
pre-Columbian house group. This is made of stone  
set in mortar. It is rectangular, approximately square,  
and about five feet high at the center. The roof is  
low peaked. The one entrance is barely large enough  
to permit entrance of a man on hands and knees. Al-  
though occasionally now used merely to achieve clean-  
[515]liness, its use, as in pre-Columbian times, is chiefly  
[177]therapeutic.

231 These are all indigenous features. Although bees and  
343 turkeys were domesticated before the Conquest, it is  
not clear to what extent the beehive—a simple wooden  
[177]box—and the fowlhouse preserve pre-Columbian ele-  
ments. The fowlhouse (S. *gallinero*; N. *pizcalli*) is a  
part of nearly every domestic establishment (but in  
many homes some of the chickens perch on ladders in  
a corner of the dwelling). It is usually built of stone,  
to keep out marauding carnivores, and has about the  
size and form of the sweathouse, except that the roof  
is tiled. To protect a horse or *burro* a thatched or tiled  
roof is erected in a corner of the yard. Something in  
● 312 which to store water completes the house group. This  
415 is either a plastered tank (S. *pila*) or a large jar (S.  
*tianja*; N. *acomitl*) or merely an alcohol tin.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

361 In highly dissected regions the natural community tends to be the valley and the boundaries of the community are then the valley walls. Where the valley floor is wide and fertile a considerable village grows up. But also, in less desirable sites in the valley, in smaller pockets in the surrounding mountains, or on the steeper or less-watered slope on the other side of the mountains, settlements develop which, because of their relatively unfavorable locations, remain small. Upon the market and upon the social organization of the larger valley settlement the lesser hamlets become and remain dependent.

[63] Such a constellation of minor settlements, tributary to a larger village, is exemplified by Tepoztlán and the seven hamlets of San Juanico, Santo Domingo, Amatlán, Ixcatepec, Santiago, San Andres, and Santa Catarina. Tepoztlán contains about four thousand inhabitants; the hamlets each hold two or three hundred.

[162] Tepoztlán lies in the wide valley that is protected by high mountain walls on three sides. It is well watered by many springs which burst forth from the mountains at the north side of the valley; this water is piped to the town (as once it was conducted through primitive stone conduits) from reservoirs built at

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these sources. Ixcatepec and Santiago are situated farther down the valley, outside the protecting walls, along the San Jerónimo, a tiny stream which arises in Tepoztlán and flows into the Rio Yautepec. The other five hamlets are almost or quite without immediate water; indeed, at Santa Catarina all water is carried to the town from a distance of about half a mile. 312 361 [133]

The small villages are naturally tributary to Tepoztlán because Tepoztlán is the large village to which they are nearest, but more particularly because most of them lie along the principal roads leading out of Tepoztlán. At the upper end of the valley, where the mountain wall is low, two roads go out: one north to Mexico City, the other southwest to Cuernavaca. San Juanico is situated on the former road; just off the latter road lies San Andres, and directly on it, Santa Catarina. The third road runs southeast down the widening valley to Yautepec. On this are situated Ixcatepec and Santiago. Santo Domingo and Amatlán lie on no main artery of travel, and for this reason they are much less definitely a part of the constellation of communities than are the other five. Much less often do the inhabitants of these two hamlets contribute to the market at Tepoztlán, or attend the *fiestas* there. 31 361 [631] [491]

There is a great deal of travel among the villages of Morelos, and nearly all of it is travel on foot. A man or a woman of Tepoztlán will not infrequently make weekly trips, on foot, to Yautepec or to Cuernavaca, and will make the thirty-five or forty miles there and back in one day, often bearing a heavy load both 484 628

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based on kinship, but at the time of the Conquest, in Tenochtitlan at least, the kinship tie had largely disappeared, and the *calpolli* was a local unit. Each had its own god, religious structure, courts and judges, and military organization; and the members of each *calpolli* owned in common lands apart and distinct from the lands of the other *calpolli*. 174  
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With the destruction of the tribal organization following the Conquest, the military, political, and judicial functions of the *calpolli* fell into desuetude. But the social and religious functions, conflicting with none of the Spanish forms, and coinciding in some measure with the current Spanish notion of a church parish, continued in Tepostlán, as no doubt in other *pueblos*, to this day. The *barrio* as a religious organization, the central religious building, the patron-god whose image is contained within it,<sup>1</sup> and elements in the accompanying ceremonial (e.g., the *teponaztli*, offering of flower garlands, *copal* incense, etc.) are survivals from pre-Columbian culture. 177  
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It is in the social and festal organization of the community that the *barrio* maintains its importance. Even when there is no *fiesta* the chapel serves as a sort of social center for the *barrio*; the water tank is generally there and near it people congregate to gossip. Some of the *bárrios* have purchased gasoline. 621  
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<sup>1</sup> In the commentary to the Codex Magliabecchi, sec. 62, it is stated: "Each *barrio* has another idol. They say it was he who guarded the *barrio*. To him they run with their petitions in times of necessity. On the day on which the festival of this idol falls, the people of the *barrio* offer him solemnities. The other *bárrios* do not." This is precisely the situation in Tepostlán today.

# RHYTHMS OF THE SOCIAL LIFE

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agricultural seasons, while at other times of the year they may be largely or wholly idle.

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The daily cycle of activity of the woman, on the other hand, follows much the same course throughout the year, but is not so clearly ended each day by the coming of darkness. While he is led by the cycle of the sun, she is the servant of another cycle—that of hunger and its satisfaction. The woman's practical activities are organized around the preparation of food. Grinding and cooking, she is engaged most of the hours of the day and many of the night. The man fetches wood for the hearth from the mountains, and brings most of the water used from the nearest tank; the rest of the domestic economy is in the hands of the woman.

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The day begins while yet the sun is below the horizon. At once five hundred or more fires are kindled by the women of Tepoztlán; the acrid, low-clinging smoke of the pitch-pine kindling rises from the valley. The housewife begins at once to grind maize for the morning *tortillas* and to cook the breakfast dishes. Usually three meals are taken, one at about seven or eight o'clock, another an hour or more after noon, and a third at seven or eight at night. Some people, for whom the night is cool and the bed hard, stir themselves once during the night to eat once more before returning to rest.<sup>1</sup> At every meal *tortillas* are eaten. If times are bad, there may be only beans besides, or perhaps not even beans. When meat is obtainable, it

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<sup>1</sup> This is hearsay.

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134 types of categories of cultivable land according to productivity. The distribution  
 311 of these land classes is shown in Fig. 5.

First-class land produces an average of about two *cargas* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This is by far the best land, and it is located in the valley bottoms where seasonal streams bring down the rich fertilizing materials from the monte and forests. The soil on this land is dark brown to black. Less than five per cent of the land of plow agriculture is of this type. Second-class land produces on the average of one *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted. This land slopes more and is more eroded; it accounts for about forty-five per cent of the cultivable land.<sup>4</sup> The soils are sandier and vary from light brown to reddish. Third-class lands produce on the average of about one-half a *carga* of corn on the cob for every *cuartillo* of seed planted, and account for another forty-five per cent of the cultivable land. These lands have the steepest slope and are the most eroded. It is on these lands that rock terraces, said to be of pre-Conquest times, are used to prevent the complete washing away of the soils. The soil on this land is yellowish and very stony. Frequently the rock-bottom *tepetate* is only a few inches from the surface. (See Fig. 6.)

TABLE 2. Land types and areas according to agrarian Census of 1937.

| Land Types                                      | Areas<br>(in Hectares) | Percentage of<br>Total Land Area<br>of Municipio |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Monte Alto                                      | 11,400                 | 44.0                                             |
| Monte Bajo                                      | 3,750                  | 22.0                                             |
| En cerril accidental inútil para la agricultura | 3,010                  | 11.0                                             |
| Terrenos de temporal de primero                 | 675                    | 3.8                                              |
| Terrenos de temporal de segundo y tercero       | 5,075                  | 19.1                                             |
| Total                                           | 25,910                 |                                                  |

361 From the foregoing materials we can see that the municipio of Tepoztlán is not  
 631 a single natural or geographic unit.<sup>5</sup> Hills and mountains break it up and form barriers between the villages. Thus Tepoztlán is separated from the village of San Juan to the north by one group of hills and from San Andrés to the southwest by another. Santo Domingo, to the southeast of Tepoztlán, is nestled high up in a pocket in the mountain wall and is more or less isolated from all the other villages of the municipio. Only three of the villages, Ixcatepec, Santiago, and Tepoztlán proper, are located within a single valley and drained by the same stream. The re-

<sup>4</sup> Although there is some evidence in early sixteenth-century documents examined by the writer which points to a greater productivity of the land at that time, it is interesting to note that the description of the lands of the municipio in the first land title of 1548 describes the lands as rocky, sterile, and ill suited for agriculture. Furthermore, the greater portion of the lands was described as "sitios de ganado menor" and "sitios de ganado mayor" which may indicate that the Spaniards viewed the land resources of Tepoztlán as best suited for grazing.

<sup>5</sup> Radfield's references to the municipio as "a natural community" and as a "valley community" tend to give the municipio a geographic unity which it does not in fact have. Radfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 39.

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Fig. 5. Land classes, municipio of Tepoztlán.

FIRST-CLASS LAND   
SECOND-CLASS LAND   
THIRD-CLASS LAND 

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maining villages must depend upon springs which in some cases are a mile distant. The fact that the municipio has existed for hundreds of years as a political and social entity in the face of this lack of geographic unity raises interesting questions which will be discussed later.

#### THE VILLAGE

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Centrally located within the municipio, and nestled in a broad alluvial valley surrounded by hills and massive rock outcroppings of fantastic and beautiful for-

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heard are the serenades of romantic youths, an occasional drunken peasant being taken home, and the animals.

Drinking water is supplied by a spring in one of the surrounding hills. The water is carried to street fountains by iron pipes which were first laid in 1902. Every barrio except San Pedro has one or more of these fountains. In the large barrios, fountains are placed at strategic street corners and are more numerous. In all there



Fig. 12. The end of the main street, Tepoztlán.

are twenty-six public fountains in the village. Most of them are made of clay and cement; some are semi-enclosed and protected by a roof, generally topped by a cross; others are merely open tanks. (See Fig. 14.)

A few homes near the center have water piped directly into their patios or kitchens. For this privilege a small tax is paid to the municipio. There is no attempt to control private use of the public water supply, and this has in the past caused some conflict. In several instances, persons with a private water supply permit relatives, friends, or *compadres* to take as much water as they wish; sometimes a neighbor will connect his water pipe to that of another, thus avoiding the tax. This uncontrolled use sometimes greatly decreases the flow of water into the nearest public fountain, particularly during the dry season when water is scarce. There have been

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Fig. 13. The market place, Tepoztlán.

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Fig. 14. Public fountain, Tepoztlán.

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occasions when groups of angry residents, headed by a political leader, have broken into houses to cut off the private water supply that was draining the public one.

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### THE BARRIOS

The village is divided into seven barrios or named locality groupings, each with its own church, patron saint, and internal religious organization.<sup>9</sup> (See Fig. 15.) The barrios of today are essentially religious organizations, but also have important social functions. Redfield believed the barrios were pre-Hispanic survivals of the ancient *calpolli*, an interpretation to be questioned in the light of our data. He wrote:

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The *barrio* is plainly recognizable as the pre-Columbian *calpolli*. From the accounts we have of the social organization of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and of Texcoco, it

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Fig. 15. The barrios of Tepoztlán.

appears that each *pueblo* in the Nahua area was divided into units which bore this name. These units were originally, it has been supposed, based on kinship, but at the time of the Conquest, in Tenochtitlan at least, the kinship tie had largely disappeared, and the *calpolli* was a local unit. Each had its own god, religious structure, courts and judges, and military organization; and the members of each *calpolli* owned in common lands apart and distinct from the lands of the other *calpolli*.

With the destruction of the tribal organization following the Conquest, the military,

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<sup>9</sup>In the following pages I have listed eight barrios rather than seven, because families on twenty-nine house sites in the barrio of Santo Domingo think of themselves as a separate unit owing allegiance to the barrio of Santa Cruz. I have therefore treated these twenty-nine house sites as a separate unit and have referred to them as Santa Cruz (small) in distinction to Santa Cruz (large), since Santa Cruz is the barrio to which they pay taxes.

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[433] estimate if we follow Tepoztecán classifications: First-class land will produce on an average of two *cargas* of ears of corn for every *cuartillo* of seed planted; second-class land will produce on an average of one *carga* for each *cuartillo* of seed; and third-class land will produce about one-half a *carga*. Thus productivity of the best land is about four times that of the poorest land.

[241] Most Tepoztecans do not use fertilizer in their fields. They are apparently aware of its benefits but, because of the shortage of manure and the expense of commercial fertilizer, are unable to use it.

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● 312 A few Tepoztecán farmers have attempted to divert seasonal streams, which come down from the mountain forests to their fields, to capture some of the rich humus of the forest, and the results have been spectacular. Portions of fields which received this humus more than tripled their production. There are unfortunately few such streams, and even if all were diverted in this fashion, they would help only a few farmers.  
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PRODUCTION TIME AND COST

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461 An analysis of production time in plow culture is extremely difficult, because Tepoztecán peasants keep no records and because of the large number of variables to be considered. The following account, based upon careful observation of a few cases and extended interviews with many farmers, is presented with an awareness of some shortcomings on our part.

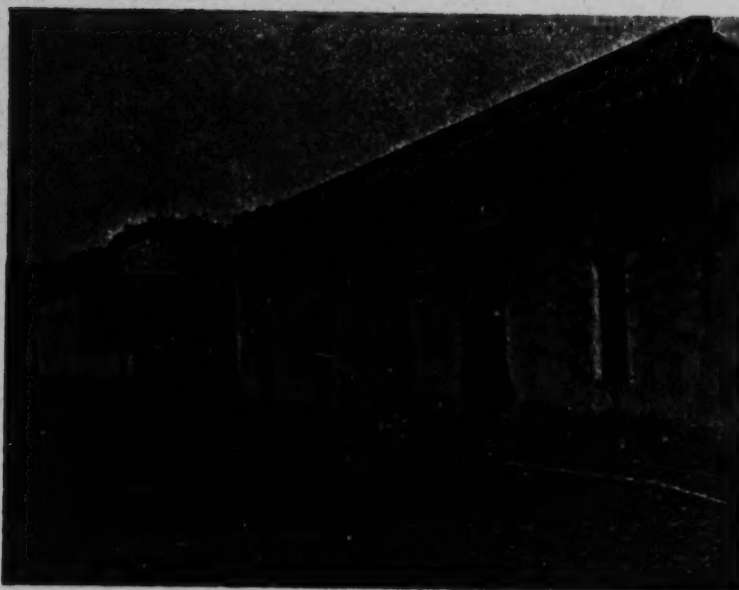
There is considerable range in the amount of man-days of work that goes into the clearing, planting, cultivation, and harvest of a cornfield. The most important variables are the nature of the terrain, the quality of the soil, the speed of the oxen and the workers, the type of seed used, etc. Judging from our data, the total number of man-days of work needed for the production of one hectare of corn ranges from about 35 to 65 days, depending upon the variables previously mentioned.

If we were to consider 50 man-days of work as an average we would not be far wrong. Actually, however, there are only about 35 days spent working a field of one hectare by any one man. Most men work as day laborers in the fields of others, so that on the average a man puts in about 50 work days in plow culture from the beginning of June to the end of December. However, this estimate does not include many days spent by the farmer in guarding his field against cattle and trespassers.

In Table 31 we present a study of the time spent in the production of corn in a milpa of ten *cuartillos*. In this case we have participated in and carefully observed each of the operations listed. In addition we have obtained estimates of production time from many informants, and some of these are given in Table 32.

It will be seen from these tables that the greatest amount of time is spent in cultivating and harvesting the corn. The preparation of the fields and the planting take relatively little time. The fact that farmers spend a relatively small part of the year at their major occupation gives them a great deal of time for other economic activities, as well as enforced leisure.

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Fig. 37. *Cacique* homes.

urns. The rooms of the house are grouped in a rectangle or U-shape and open onto a wide *corredor*, which generally runs the inside length and sides of the house, enclosing the patio. These houses are constructed of brick or stone, covered with plaster, and whitewashed inside and out. A good number of these houses are now in disrepair. Not infrequently the families living in them are the impoverished sons or widows of formerly wealthy men.

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While only the poorest live in *jocales*, it is by no means true that the wealthiest live in the finest houses. Families of every category of wealth live in simple adobe houses. A few of the richest men, who represent the conservative older generation, continue to live in relatively unimproved houses.

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There is a distinct tendency for newly rich families to build their homes with simple exteriors, even though the interior may have a degree of elegance and the family can well afford a more imposing looking house. This is done to avoid getting the reputation of being wealthy and to avoid the envy and malice of others. The violence and destruction wreaked against the homes of the wealthy during the Revolution are well remembered, and a few informants made specific reference to the fear of such a recurrence in explaining why they had built their new homes with such plain exteriors.

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The great majority of houses in Tepoztlán have no running water or sanitary facilities of any kind. Water is carried in tin cans from the closest public fountain;

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312 and although this is the traditional and common practice, it is now considered a  
 511 real hardship by more and more families. The quantity of water consumed by a  
 family is usually determined by the amount of labor it can devote to water-carrying,  
 and many families limit their use of water for bathing, for plants and animals, and  
 for laundry. Use of the public laundry, generally considered undesirable, is made of  
 necessity by many. The few families with water piped into their patios invariably  
 [296] have flourishing flower, fruit, and vegetable gardens. These families are very much  
 [351] envied, and not infrequently their water pipes are deliberately stuffed or damaged  
 [578] by less fortunate neighbors.

514 The benefits of toilets are not as generally recognized, and only one private home  
 [485] and the two tourist houses have toilets that can be flushed. The new schoolhouse,  
 [177] however, has toilets and showers, and the younger generation is becoming ac-  
 customed to their use. The schoolteachers, the students who have been away to  
 boarding schools, and the not insignificant number of Tepoztecos who have spent  
 time in Mexico City are also familiar with the use of toilets and will undoubtedly  
 be among the first to install them in their dwellings in the future. Some already  
 have constructed screens around their latrines in their yards or orchards to afford  
 some privacy.

515 Bathing facilities for women and children generally consist of a clay or tin basin  
 at home; the men and older boys bathe in the river. Many women bathe and wash  
 their hair when they do their laundry in a stream or at the public washing place.

354 No Tepoztecan house has any means of heating other than the kitchen fire.  
 511 This, however, gives little heat and is extinguished as soon as cooking is com-  
 [513] pleted, to save fuel. In the winter months the family generally retires earlier to keep  
 warm, but since most families have a minimum number of blankets, there is  
 probably some suffering during the night due to cold. Except for early morning,  
 the days are warm all the year round.

There are various means of lighting the house after dark, the most common  
 and inexpensive being candles. Some homes have kerosene lamps and a few of the  
 houses and stores in the center have Coleman gasoline lamps. One Tepoztecan  
 [377] house—that of the prosperous curer, Don Chucho—has electricity which is oper-  
 ated by a privately owned generator. There is talk of installing electricity in the  
 plaza and in the church and chapels near the center, and it is probably only a  
 matter of time before this is done.

177 Differences in house furnishings are even more striking than differences in  
 352 house types, and there is an unending variety of combinations of new and old or  
 511 modern and primitive household items. It is not at all unusual to find under one  
 roof a battery-operated radio, a pre-Hispanic hearth as the only means of cooking,  
 a hand mill for grinding coffee, and the Indian stone *metate* for grinding corn.  
 Modern equipment for cooking, serving, sleeping, lighting, and so forth, is with  
 few exceptions greatly esteemed; and in the majority of families only lack of  
 money prevents its purchase. Among the youth, the more educated, and the  
 large middle economic group, there is a strong desire to live better and to invest

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[1943-1944]

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661 troller accepted gladly because from the beginning he had wanted to be president. In a few days Martínez was freed, and when he returned to the president's office, the comptroller was forced to resign. The alternate comptroller, Proylan García, was called up to take the office.

The attorney general for some reason or other began to quarrel with Martínez, gradually drawing away from him even in the negotiations which involved both their offices. It reached the point where the attorney general undertook obligations without informing the municipal president. This deepened the rift still more. The attorney general began to hurl charges at Martínez availing himself of the support of some citizens who were his adherents.

When this reached the ears of the state government, Martínez and the other councillor were called on for explanations, but it turned out that they could not prove the charges they were making. On the contrary, the attorney general and his supporters suffered a call from the government to appear. It did not end there.

[316] At that time citizens were taking stone out of the quarry, and the attorney general alleged that the president was charging for the extraction of the stone and keeping the money. Because of this the split became even deeper, until finally the attorney general hardly ever went to the municipal president, but contented himself with carrying on his affairs in the lower tribunal. He tried to win the friendship of the comptroller so that there would be a majority against the municipal president, but as there were occasions when there were things which were damaging to the comptroller, he could not come to terms with the attorney general but continued faithful to the municipal president. Those two councillors, together with a few enthusiastic citizens, tried to form a committee to bring about the construction of a school in the town. They could get together only a small fund because at that time the president of Mexico had already ordered the construction of the present school, through the diligence of Angel Bocanegra. That was the end of the labors of the committee formed by the council and other citizens; they had succeeded in getting together barely 250 pesos which have remained in the power of the comptroller up to the present time.

[32] When the dry season arrived, and drinking water began to be scarce everywhere, the council decided to improve or level the piping which brought water to the town. The council succeeded in getting together many people who willingly lent themselves to improving the pipe line. They asked for help from a man who was the manager of the Bank of Mexico, who collaborated by buying some pipes which the council needed. As the attorney general saw that he had not succeeded in discrediting the president, he decided to complain to the office of the attorney general of the state, so that the president would be judged for all the crimes which, according to the attorney general, he had committed. After trying every means to harm the municipal president without success, the attorney general presented his resignation. It was accepted right away, and the alternate for the position was called immediately. The people of the town had grumbled about the outgoing attorney general because, when he was sitting in judgment on a case, he almost always used vulgar words to call attention to the delinquents.

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666 The council, which was about to finish its term, began to think about its successor. Each member tried to leave a friend in office, using every means possible so that he might remain. The municipal president held conferences with some friends of his in the town and in the other towns. Again the town was divided into three parties; some belonged to the party of the council and its candidates, others were led by Vicente Campos, and

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others by Federico Campos, aided by the *Fraternales*. The municipal president took up this problem with the governor of the state, with the deputy for the district, and with the president of the political party, but nothing was gained. After the legal elections, all the candidates came out null and void. The state government intervened in the matter and appointed the municipal council. This council, made up of completely different persons, was to take office on the first of January like a legally elected council.

## ADMINISTRATION OF 1945-46

On the first of January, 1945, the appointed municipal council was installed, consisting of J. Guadalupe Ortega, Miguel Ríos, and Fortino Guzmán, in place of all the candidates who had set out to occupy the municipal offices. This council was pledged to send out within ninety days the summons for new elections to form the council which was to officiate during this same period. On the first of April, the candidates who were supported by the *Fraternales*—that is, Federico Campos as president, Domingo G. Alvarado as *regidor de hacienda*, and Juan Z. Rodríguez as attorney general—were installed. After having taken office, they proceeded to notify all the important people to take notice, also other friends whom they had in Mexico City.

Before coming to power, Federico Campos had counted on some adherents, among whom were some persons of moderate culture. But since he did not listen to their counsel he achieved nothing but hatred. These persons had proposed that he should improve the water system, a matter of great importance to the town. After the labors of experts, and efforts on all sides, Campos succeeded in getting the governor to sign a contract with the Secretariat of Health and Social Work to complete the work which was so much desired.

At the same time, the matter of obtaining electricity was discussed in an interview with the secretary of national economy, who ordered that additional studies should be made concerning the matter. Later they had an interview with the president of Mexico, who gave orders to the secretary of national economy. After all the efforts made in the different departments, the federal election of new officers gravely harmed the works completed. Since there was a complete change in the government, they declared that all the work was useless because it was necessary to have new studies made by the new officials.

With this, Campos lost heart completely, and he limited himself to expediting the matters in his office. Furthermore, since the other villages of the township knew that Campos was trying to improve the villages, others approached him for aid in the matter of bringing drinking water to their people. When the municipal president, or rather the council, saw that the villages were also interested, they tried to unite in order to bring about an adequate water system for all, and on one occasion they interviewed the authorities of another township which had a sufficient water supply to make additional outlets possible. The negotiations were successful, but this township was a considerable distance away, and much capital was required to purchase the materials needed to bring in the water. When the estimates were made, the sum was fantastic in relation to the economic possibilities of the villages.

This council also tried to improve the town by aiding in the literacy campaign. Since the adults, who did not know how to read or write, refused to study, the council visited all the villages of the township and named the sub-committees, just as an extension of the committee of four hundred working in the municipal seat. Campos tried to raise funds to pay the teachers at the literacy centers. When people refused to contribute or to attend classes, he acted in accordance with the law and punished those who did not comply

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754 him revert to human form. *Naguales* have the power to enter houses, even when doors are closed, can steal anything, and can quietly carry off girls by putting them into a deep sleep. To prevent thefts by *Naguales* a cross is marked on the bottom of metates which then become too heavy for the *Nagual* to lift. Some *Naguales* will steal girls for a sum of money. *Naguales* cannot be wounded by a knife or a gun, and it is impossible to hit them or throw stones at them because of a secret power which defends them. Some people believe that El Tepozteco can turn himself into a *Nagual* and that he is their chief.

753 *Los aires* are mysterious forces, variously thought of as winds, spirits, or little people who may cause sores, pimples, paralysis, and other illnesses. They are found in stream beds, ravines, in stagnant pools, and atop the highest hills. Tepoztecos are careful to avoid *los aires* and not to offend them. Some old women still say certain Náhuatl phrases asking permission of *los aires* to take water from the stream. 776 Those who must pass by stagnant water after bathing in a *temascal* must drop some of the leaves, with which they dried themselves, into the pool in order to avoid headaches, earaches, or watering of the eyes. To get rid of these afflictions one must be cleansed with salt and yarrow leaves which are afterward thrown into the middle of the street. Sometimes when a person eats beside a stream or near a ravine, he will be attacked by *los aires* and will have a headache and fever. The illness is treated by cleansing the person with herbs, which are then thrown into the stream or ravine. If the sick person continues to have fever and dreams of canes, water, 787 or food, it means that *los aires* struck him very hard and must be fed. *Mole*, tamales, and fruit are prepared, and a special loaf of bread in the shape of a doll is ordered 782 from the baker. The doll is decorated in red, and the meal, adorned with red crepe paper, is carried to the suspected stream and left there.<sup>10</sup>

242 *Los aires* are also believed to take refuge in anthills, and one who disturbs an anthill may suffer grave injury. For this reason no Tepoztecan dares open an anthill to remove the queen ant, despite the fact that the local variety of ants is very voracious and can destroy an entire cornfield. When a farmer discovers an anthill 825 in his field he will place food, such as mango leaves, around the hole, so that the ants will not eat the corn. The farmers sometimes place poisonous leaves at an anthill, but the ants soon learn not to eat them. Some of the more advanced farmers use chemical products including D.D.T. to kill the ants but even the most educated will not open an anthill.

753 Informants relate that not long ago a man, not of Tepoztlán, used to sell ant dung as fertilizer. He collected the material from anthills, but after six months of this work he fell ill, became badly crippled, and died. The same thing happened to the uncle of one of our informants; after opening an anthill he spent eight years in bed, crippled and inflamed from the effects of *los aires*.

787 Belief in good and bad omens continues in Tepoztlán. These beliefs are innu- 171

<sup>10</sup> In Redfield's account a real doll, with red cheeks and decorated with colored yarn, is used. The bread doll is more closely reminiscent of the dough images offered in propitiation in pre-Hispanic times.

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Fig. 61. Courtship at the fountain.

kissing the saints and kissing the priest's hands. One girl, when asked whether she ever kissed her *novio*, said, "What, is he a saint that I should kiss him?" Sexual relations between *novios* occurs frequently but not, as believed by parents, inevitably. Among young people who are *novios* for the first time, sexual relations may not occur until after one or even two years, or the pair may eventually separate over the question. Among more mature *novios*, platonic relations are a rarity. Ideally, both the boy and the girl are expected to be virgins at marriage, but it is safe to say that most boys and some girls have sexual relations before marriage.

Young boys and girls often seek out older companions to learn from them the art of courtship. Girls at school and in the *Juventud Católica* discuss their *novios*, read each others' love letters, tell of experiences, and even tell off-color jokes and stories. Boys entering their teens loiter among older boys at every opportunity. The following excerpt from the story of one of our informants (now age forty) is a typical experience:

When I was about fourteen, I managed to join up with some boys of eighteen and twenty. They began to say, "How many *novios* have you?" I answered, "None." "How stupid. Haven't you noticed the girl nearby who likes you?" They began to teach me how to speak to *novias*.

Once a girl of about seventeen who lived near my house said to me, "I see you go out a

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[275] aged foods, mostly to the employed people who live in the center. Old women sold ready-made tortillas in the plaza. There was still no restaurant but there were more saloons. A blare of radios came from the houses and inside some homes one saw a new kerosene or Coleman stove, aluminum pots, kerosene or gasoline lamps, forks, and hand presses for shaping tortillas. At least one home had overstuffed furniture.

[161] But many more changes have occurred than meet the eye. As a result of the population increase—from 3,500 in 1940 to approximately 4,800 in 1957—there is a shortage of housesites and housing, and Tepoztecs petitioned the local government to make available some of the nearby communal lands for new housesites. Several homes have been built on the outskirts of the village and in the surrounding *cerros*. Formerly it was not customary to rent a house; if a Tepoztecan had an extra house he would allow another villager to use it simply for the care of it. Now rental has become quite usual.

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[759] Since the late forties Tepoztlán has had a resident doctor and since 1952 a doctor from Cuernavaca who formerly practiced in the village has come once a week to see his patients. The clientele of both doctors has been increasing. In 1950, the resident doctor had an average of 75 patients a month; by 1956 the average was 160. Tepoztecs now complain about the expense of medicines and the delay caused by having prescriptions filled in Cuernavaca; the local "druggist" cannot fill prescriptions and carries few patent medicines. The village has a free federal government health clinic which cares for children and pregnant women and administers injections. [744] About ten patients, most of them expectant mothers, come there every day. [751] In 1955 approximately two thousand vaccinations and revaccinations were given.

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[844] The clinic and the doctor have by no means replaced the *curanderos*, however. Tepoztecs believe that doctors can cure only certain diseases, and still frequent *curanderos* for those illnesses which they attribute to *los aires*, anger, hot or cold foods, evil eye, and sorcery. Most births are still attended by the native midwives. If the doctor happens to cure an illness thought to be caused by *los aires*, this is taken as proof that the *aires* were not truly the cause. Although the villagers have substituted new terms for old concepts—for example, *los aires* are now sometimes described as tiny animals or microbes and injections are called "cleansings"—it is questionable whether this represents much of a departure from the earlier magical thinking about the causes of disease.

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[314] Like many villages in the densely populated central plateau area, Tepoztlán has not had the benefit of the great new hydroelectric and irrigation projects. Its agricultural base has remained very much the same; there has been no mechanization and no new important cash crops have been introduced. The peasants continue to work their land as before, although a few are now using some commercial fertilizer. Because the lack of change in agriculture combined with the rapidly increasing population has forced Tepoztecs to seek work in nonfarm occupations, a much lower proportion of the gainfully occupied are now peasants. The federal campaign for the preservation of